

JUN 13, 1950
615TH BROADCAST

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Are We Fighting Communism Wisely?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

Speakers

WARREN G. MAGNUSON

KARL E. MUNDT

(See also page 12)

COMING

June 13, 1950

When Are We Too Old To Work?

June 20, 1950

**What Are the Real Issues in the 1950
Congressional Elections?**

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Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



JUNE 6, 1950

16, No. 6

Are We Fighting Communism Wisely?

Announcer:

During the 15 years in which Town Meeting has been on the air, we have issued a number of publications for the convenience of our listeners. However, none has had such acclaim as our new Fifteenth Anniversary book entitled *Good Evening, Neighbors*. Town Meeting speakers, our local sponsors, ABC stations, and listeners alike have been warm in their praise of this comprehensive word and picture story of Town Meeting's 15 years.

Here in 80 illuminating pages are the dramatic highlights of Town Meeting's great record. In addition, there is a complete report of last summer's Round-the-World Town Meetings illustrated with on-the-spot photographs. You may order your copy of *Good Evening, Neighbors* by sending \$1 to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. For a supplement listing all the 614 programs of the past 15 years, enclose 25 cents additional. The edition is limited, so order your copy tonight.

Now, to preside over our discussion, here is your Moderator, the President of Town Hall and Founder of America's Town Meeting, George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We are very happy indeed to be the guests of American University here in our Nation's capital tonight.

This is a very dangerous question we are discussing this evening, "Are We Fighting Communism Wisely?" For if we're not fighting it wisely, then everything that we and our

ancestors have fought for with blood and sacrifice is in mortal jeopardy.

It is a fight that concerns every one of us, for the men in the Kremlin have made it abundantly clear that no holds are barred, and they'll strike whenever and wherever they can. This is no game they are playing by Marquis of Queensberry or any other rules. They demand the rights, protection, and fair play allowed under our system, then ridicule us because we are foolish enough to grant them those rights.

Well, we've invited two United States Senators to counsel with us this evening on how to deal wisely with the most dangerous menace to our freedom since our country was established. Sharply critical of the way the Democratic Administration has been fighting communism is Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican of South Dakota. This afternoon on the Senate floor, he renewed his attack on the Administration for its handling of the charges made by Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. Senator Mundt is cosponsor of the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnson bill designed to control subversive activities and to prevent them, if possible, in this country.

I take pleasure in presenting Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota. (Applause)

Senator Mundt:

Thank you, Mr. Denny. In some respects, it seems to me that tonight's question would still be a highly debatable proposition had it been worded, "Are We Fighting Communism, Question Mark," because in a large degree policies are so self-contradictory and deficient that not only does it seem obvious that we are not fighting communism wisely, but it makes one wonder sometimes whether we actually are fighting communism at all or not.

In all events, it seems clear that the basic weakness in our so-called fight against communism is that it lacks consistency. It requires a consistent as well as a persistent campaign to win any fight, whether it be ideological, military, or political. Under this Administration, our foreign and domestic policies toward communism have become so inconsistent, so self-contradictory, and so at odds with each other that, despite the billions of dollars we are spending, communism continues to expand.

Judged either by its results or by its methods, our present policy towards communism is neither successful nor sufficient. Above all, it is neither consistent nor effective. It combines a

patch-work program of public spending with a won't-work program of do-nothingness, both at home and abroad. It is too little; too late; too loose; and too timorous.

In a large part, this Administration's policy toward communism is based on doing tomorrow whatever the Russian Communists compel us to do by their activities of yesterday. What we need instead, in my opinion, is a consistent, constructive, positive, realistic program against communism which is conceived in America and which is not dictated by Communists abroad or influenced by Communists at home.

What is needed is a program of American action, not a series of timorous reactions to something the Russians have been doing 5,000 miles away. We should carry the contest to the Russians and against the Communists, not simply be content to cue our reactions to their activities around the world.

Let me illustrate some of the specific things which I think are both unwise and unworkable in the way this Administration is leading our so-called fight against communism. For example, under the Marshall Plan we are dedicated to a 20-billion-dollar program of economic and military aid to Western Europe, Turkey, and Greece in an effort to contain communism to its present conquest there. But in Asia, this Administration opposed every effort by Congress and defeated every effective proposal for supplying the same kind of aid for the purpose of stopping the Communists from taking over China. As a result, China is lost. And its loss has made the holding of Europe increasingly expensive and improbable.

Again, we rightfully deny American fabricators the right to sell war supplies to Russia because it is never considered wise to build up and arm a potential adversary. On the other hand, we give to European countries hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of raw materials and supplies which we in turn permit them to trade to Russia for products which they desire. So, while aiding Europe economically, and while being asked to supply new arms for Western Europe, we also aid and arm Russia, since in modern warfare virtually every product is useful in wartime.

Thus we squander our money and jeopardize our peace and security through strengthening and arming both sides of another potential conflict. That is what I call inconsistency carried to the suicidal degree.

Still again, we tax ourselves and spend money we have to

borrow in order to strengthen other countries against Communists within their borders, while this Administration continues to block the passage of any legislation which would enable us to expose, identify, and curtail the activities of Communists here in our own country. Abroad, we seek to curtail the Communists. At home, we continue to coddle and give comfort to them as though they were partners in the fight for freedom.

Senator Ferguson and I, together with Congressman Nixon, have written a bill to require Communists to register—to make it illegal for them to hold appointive jobs in the Federal Government. The Senate Judiciary Committee, after long hearings, has approved this bill by a vote of 12 to 1. But the Administration, with an eye to votes in the next election, damns it with faint praise and continues to delay bringing it up to the floor for debate and for a vote.

In my opinion, there is very little that this session of Congress could do that would be more important in fighting communism wisely than the passage of legislation which would protect our own American institutions against the espionage and treachery of Communists now operating in this country under the protection they enjoy because of our failure to pass legislation to expose, identify, and curtail their activities.

One can surely be excused for wondering just how many Communists and disloyal agents it is necessary for Congressional committees and the FBI to uncover and punish before this Administration will cease attacking those who oppose communism and start offering at least some degree of coöperation in this fight against communism here at home.

To fight communism wisely, our first step should be to weed the Communists entirely out of government. Only when and if this Administration gives Congress and the country—you, the people—the facts, and removes the iron curtain it has set up between the public and the facts in the files can we really fight communism effectively, wisely, and successfully in this great cold war. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Mundt. Those are harsh, strong words, but the Administration has here one of its ablest and most effective spokesmen on all fronts in the person of the Democratic Senator from the State of Washington, the Honorable Warren G. Magnuson, who was elected to four successive terms in the House of Representatives before his election to

the Senate in 1944. We are very happy indeed to welcome him back to Town Meeting. The Honorable Warren G. Magnuson of the State of Washington. (*Applause*)

Senator Magnuson:

Thank you, Mr. Denny, my colleague in the Senate, and fellow Americans.

I'm sure my friend Senator Mundt and I are in general accord on our attitude toward communism. On objectives, I believe we are all in complete agreement. The free nations of the world and the free peoples of the world must offend communism on all fronts. We must fight tyranny under whatever banner it travels. And I believe the Senator from South Dakota will agree with me on this description of communistic tyranny.

He has devoted much effort in the Congress to fight Communist infiltration here at home. I, too, have spent many years in that fight in Congress. We agree that the movement, its disciples, and all that it stands for must be defeated, if possible. We are not, however, in full agreement as to the best means of achieving this result.

I say that we are fighting communism wisely. And by we, of course, I mean the present Administration, the majority party in Congress, the people we represent, and those governments who have joined the United States in fostering a world community of free nations.

To fight communism, we have adopted a unified policy. Communism, whether at home or abroad, breeds in poverty, joblessness, underprivilege, and discrimination. In the main, it finds its recruits among the ill-clad, the ill-fed, and the ill-housed. There are exceptions, but its principal recruits come from those who have lost hope that they personally can achieve a better tomorrow, that they as individuals can build a life personally satisfying and socially useful to the world under existing conditions.

Let us examine, therefore, in view of that description a few of the positive programs we have put into action. Most obvious, of course, is the Marshall Plan. That plan is now in its third year. It has been successful. The nations of Western Europe are well along the road to recovery. This has proved one of the wisest investments the people of the United States have made against communism, regardless of its cost.

Then there is the Atlantic Treaty. Last year Congress authorized an investment of over one and one-quarter billion

dollars in this great defense enterprise. I am confident that a similar amount will be appropriated before the end of this session with both sides of the aisle voting for it.

At home, too, we have been fighting communism wisely. Here are some of the programs that constitute our arsenal on the domestic front.

Social Security. We are seeking to reduce the insecurity of old age and all the other insecurities that go with economic instability.

We are mobilizing the resources of industry, of labor, and of financial institutions to provide better housing for our people.

We are making a frontal attack on unemployment by stimulating an expanding economy, not a retarding economy.

We are attacking ignorance through the ever-increasing expenditures for schools to insure the equality of educational opportunity.

We have reduced the hazards of joblessness through unemployment insurance.

For decent living income, we have enacted minimum wage legislation.

We have given millions of people in this country opportunity to finance their own homes; millions of workers a sense of stability; and millions of farmers the opportunity for a firm future.

These and other domestic programs strike at the very heart of the breeding places of communism both at home and abroad. Despite these constructive and positive anti-communistic programs there are, and there probably always will be, a few deluded individuals who for reasons known best to themselves might enlist in some sort of communistic thinking or conspiracy.

To ferret out, to identify, and to catalogue these individuals we do maintain loyalty programs; we do maintain the FBI and many other programs, not only in the Government, but in private institutions and in private life. At the proper time should the occasion arise, these people can be and will be apprehended in the democratic way.

A few days ago the Attorney General of the United States stated the FBI has the names, the descriptions, and the locations of all card-carrying Communists in this country—about 80,000, he estimated. This is less than one-tenth of one per cent of our total population. To combat this small group many of my Congressional colleagues would jeopardize the

freedom of ninety-nine and nine-tenths percent of the people of this country—the overwhelming majority of our people, who love freedom, who will fight for it, but who will refuse to support any system of government which gives evidence of taking away their freedom.

Many of my Congressional colleagues would substitute a witch-hunt for a constructive program—those programs I have mentioned. The McCarthy episode, the Mundt-Ferguson bill talked about here tonight, in my opinion, are mere skirmishes. They have much importance, but they never can produce the decisive victory that the situation in the world today demands, and I for one do not propose to leave the main battle to fight a skirmish.

We are fighting communism the best way we know how, and I think, wisely. We are meeting and defeating its challenge on all fronts through a positive, common-sense, constructive program. (*Applause*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Magnuson. Now while we get ready for our question period, here is a message for our Town Hall listeners.

Announcer:

Tonight's Town Meeting will be published in full in the Town Meeting Bulletin which you may obtain by sending 10 cents in coin, not stamps, to Town Hall, New York 18, N. Y.

And when you write for your copy of this program, why not order your copy of our new 80-page Anniversary book, *Good Evening, Neighbors*, commemorating Town Meeting's 15 years on the air? Betty Betz, who spoke on our program last December, has written, "I enjoyed *Good Evening, Neighbors* immensely. It also made me realize even more what a valuable contribution you are making toward understanding our problems at home and abroad."

This attractive book, published only last week, takes you behind the scenes of Town Meeting, tells you how the programs are put together, and recalls many of the outstanding broadcasts since their inception in 1935. For your copy of *Good Evening, Neighbors* send \$1 to Town Hall, New York 18, New York; and enclose 10 cents additional, if you want a copy of tonight's discussion.

And now for our question period, we return you to Mr. Denny.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: We're going to start our question period tonight with a question from the President of American University, Dr. Paul Douglass. Dr. Douglass.

Dr. Douglass: I direct my question to Senator Mundt. Senator, what three specific things can the United States do which we are not now doing to stem the spreading tide of communism?

Senator Mundt: Well, first, I would say we should pass either the Mundt-Ferguson bill or something resembling it—something which would require the Communists to register and identify themselves. That deals with the situation locally.

The second thing, we should make certain that Communists are denied by law any opportunity to work for the Federal Government. There is no more logic, it seems to me in compelling you, the taxpayers, to employ a traitor working in the Federal Government than there is to require you to employ a kidnaper as a baby-sitter when you attend Town Hall Meeting here in American University tonight.

The third thing I have already suggested, and that is that we should get on the offensive from the standpoint of foreign policy. We should have a positive American foreign policy carrying the message of freedom to the enemy, not simply retreating and a holding operation as we now have.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Mundt. Senator Magnuson has a comment.

Senator Magnuson: I would like to comment. I won't comment on the last suggestion of my distinguished colleague from South Dakota, because I believe we do have a policy—as much as the American people can stand.

On his first comment, the Mundt-Ferguson bill, I happened to have voted for it in the Committee. I have some objection to some legal phases of it, but all of the Democrats and all of the Republicans on the Judiciary Committee voted for his bill. The only objector to the Mundt-Ferguson bill was a Republican from North Dakota.

Now, on the second suggestion. I don't think there is a Republican, a Democrat, or an American today in this country, whether he be in or out of Government, who, if he knew there was a known Communist working for the Government, wouldn't do something about it forthwith. And all we want to know, instead of having witch-hunts, is to point them out. If you have the evidence, give it to the Government, because

we're all patriotic Americans. No political party has a monopoly on Americanism. (Applause)

Man: Senator Magnuson, how can Senator McCarthy's wild accusations best be dealt with while protecting our reputation abroad?

Senator Magnuson: Well, I have many times stated my opinion publicly and privately regarding the so-called McCarthy matter. I reserve my judgment as to the facts involved, because we have an eminent Senate Committee headed, again, by eminent Americans—good Americans—looking at the matter—the agencies of Government.

Your question poses what is the evil of the thing, in my mind. It seems to me that this method of approach toward communism is doing us a great deal of harm throughout the world. And is doing us, I think, a great deal of harm domestically, because it's not in the real American way. And, I think, better and above—leaving McCarthy and all this episode out—that it's the beginning of dividing the Republicans and the Democrats on our foreign policy and our approach to world problems. I think that is disastrous. I think the quickest way to go down the road toward World War III is to have the Republicans and the Democrats fighting about foreign policy. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Magnuson. Senator Mundt.

Senator Mundt: I think the question asked about what to do concerning the McCarthy charges is very interesting, and I would like to add my suggestion to that. On the Senate floor this afternoon, I suggested what I think is a rational and reasonable solution to the predicament in which the country finds itself; namely, to set up a strictly bipartisan commission comprised of outstanding citizens. If you have six members on the commission, three Republicans and three Democrats—with the President and the Democratic party to pick the three Democrats, and with the Republican leadership of the Senate to pick the three Republicans—and then give them the facts and the files so the country can know just what is going on in Government, I think that will answer the problem to the satisfaction of everyone. (Applause)

Senator Magnuson: I might just add, Mr. Denny, that Senator Mundt and I completely agree upon that. I think it would have a very salutary effect.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman over here, please.

Man: Senator Mundt, would you care to comment on the

Declaration of Conscience recently made in the Senate by six Republican Senators?

Senator Mundt: Well, I have no particular comment to make about it. I think it speaks for itself. I think it expresses some very pious although somewhat platitudinous hopes and I have no criticism to make and no particular commendation.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Next question.

Man: Senator Magnuson, Secretary Acheson says we fight communism by total diplomacy. What does this really mean? And how can it be total if we refuse aid to Formosa?

Senator Magnuson: Well, I think total diplomacy means the intentions and the desires within the framework of democracy to do what you can about communism throughout the world. The Chinese subject—I know what has been said: we fought communism in Europe and we're not doing anything about it in China. Well, the truth of the matter is and I know a little bit about China—that the people have

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

WARREN G. MAGNUSON—Senator Magnuson (Democrat, Washington) is a member of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee. He is a lieutenant commander in the U. S. Naval Reserve.

A native of Moorhead, Minn., and a graduate of the University of Washington (LL.B., 1929), Senator Magnuson was admitted to the Washington bar and engaged in the practice of law in that state. He became, successively, a member of the Washington State Legislature, assistant U. S. district attorney, and prosecuting attorney for King County. Prior to his election to the Senate for a full term, he was a member of the 75th and 78th Congresses.

KARL E. MUNDT—Senator Mundt (Republican, S. D.) is a member of the Senate District of Columbia Committee and the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, and is cosponsor of the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnson bill. He is a staff writer for *The Republican Magazine* and a frequent contributor to other periodicals.

Senator Mundt was born in Humboldt, S. D. After graduating from Carleton College, Northfield, Minn., with a B.A. degree in 1923, he taught speech and social science in Bryant High School for a year before becoming the superintendent of schools. In 1927, he received an M.A. from Columbia University and for the next nine years was chairman of the speech department and instructor in the social sciences at General Beadle State Teachers College, Madison, S. D. Before his election to the Senate, he was a member of the 76th to 80th Congresses.

have some alternative. The Chinese people didn't want the dictatorship they had. They have some hope that this dictatorship—and I think it's false hope—might be better. But there was no choice. There was no choice for us, unless you want to get into a shooting war. I went through one of them, and I don't want to have another one. I'll do anything to prevent that, whether it be another country or not.

Mr. Denny: This gentleman wants to talk back, Senator.

Senator Magnuson: Oh, all right.

Man: Then why is it that another great diplomat, Ambassador Bullitt, says that Secretary Acheson and his closest associates refused to do anything for Formosa because they have vested interests in their own mistakes in China? He said this recently in a speech in Georgetown.

Senator Magnuson: Well, I don't agree with Mr. Bullitt, he did say that, and I'm sure he did. I don't agree with that at all, because I don't think they're looking at the Chinese problem realistically at all.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Magnuson. Now, let's get on with the two people who are debating. Mr. Bullitt is not at this debate tonight, although we'd be glad to have him.

Man: Senator Mundt, in order to fight communism wisely, should we not first consider that communism is based upon a system of morality which differs from our own?

Senator Mundt: I think so. I think that Senator Magnuson gave a definition of communism which is very fitting and proper, and with which I would not disagree.

May I, since I have answered this question so quickly, state, with regard to the question asked previously, that I think that goes to the heart of the whole program. One reason we are not fighting communism wisely is that we don't have this total diplomacy, because we have ignored entirely the situation in Asia. And speaking as a Republican, let me assure my good friend, the Senator from Washington, that the Republicans are not going to break away from foreign policy because of McCarthy. The Republicans left the Administration foreign policy when the sell-outs came at Yalta and at Potsdam, and when China was thrown to Russia. That's when the Republicans got away from it. (*Applause*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Mundt. That brings Senator Magnuson out of his corner. All right, Senator.

Senator Magnuson: I wish I had more time to answer Senator Mundt regarding that situation. I could quote one of the great Republican leaders about Yalta—our very emi-

ment statesman, Senator Vandenberg. But anyway, that's not the truth. That is not the facts. And for anyone who should know the facts to say that is most extraordinary. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Senator Magnuson. We've certainly had both sides of tonight's question ably presented by two distinguished United States Senators, Senator Munro and Senator Magnuson. I want to thank also our hosts, the American University in Washington, especially its President Dr. Paul Douglass.

Now in just a moment, I'll tell you about our subjects and speakers for next week.

Announcer: During the months ahead Town Meeting will originate from many cities throughout the country: next week from Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey; in July from Colgate University at Hamilton, New York; Mobile, Alabama; and Nashville, Tennessee. However, on June 20 and 27 we will be in New York, so if you expect to be in New York on June 20 or 27 and would like to attend Town Meeting, write us at Town Hall for your complimentary tickets. These will be our last New York broadcasts until fall.

In the meantime, if you are an official of a representative community organization and you would like to have Town Meeting come to your city this summer, we will be glad to send you further information about our tour origination. Our summer tour will give many of you an opportunity to witness your Town Meeting in action, and we look forward to our visits with you. Remember, we always welcome suggestions for topics and speakers. Send your letters to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. And now to tell you about next week's program, here again is Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: I'm afraid that many of our listeners have forgotten that Town Meeting continues throughout the summer and indeed has been on a year-round basis since 1942. You will find this and many other interesting facts about Town Meeting's 15 years on the air in our Anniversary publication entitled *Good Evening, Neighbors* which is just off the press. It contains the story of Town Meeting's origin, its growth and development right up through our world tour last summer, and is profusely illustrated with pictures and highlights of our best broadcasts during the past 15 years. Many of you heard these broadcasts last Monday night when they were broadcast over most of these stations.

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Meeting and joining in the development of a movement which can go a long way toward helping us solve the grave problems we face, order your copy of *Good Evening, Neighbors* tonight by sending \$1 to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. And if you'd like a copy of tonight's program, including questions and answers, enclose 10 cents additional. The address is Town Hall, New York 18, New York.

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- 3. To What Extent Is Government Responsible for Social Welfare?
- 4. Are Divorces Ruining Our Children?
- 5. What Progress May We Expect in the Next Half Century?

for many weeks, "When Are We Too Old To Work?" Our speakers will be Dr. Howard A. Rusk, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation at New York University, and William Caples, Manager of Industrial Relations of the Inland Steel Corporation. Your guest moderator will be an old friend, Dr. Houston Petersen of Rutgers. So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.